Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E. O. 11652 XGDSI
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS: MARCH 13 POST- PLENARY CONVERSATIONS

1. SUMMARY. IN MARCH 13 POST- PLENARY CONVERSATIONS NEITHER SIDE MADE MENTION OF MIRVS. MAIN SOVIET THEMES WERE (A) US POSITION SAME AS AT GENEVA- I; (B) RAPID MOVEMENT POSSIBLE IF ACCORD REACHED ON BROAD OUTLINES OF POSSIBLE AGREEMENT, AND (C) ALL ASPECTS OF STRATEGIC SITUATION, INCLUDING FBS, MUST BE GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION. US COMMENTS LAID STRESS ON (A) NEED TO ARRIVE AT UNDERSTANDING ON CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO WORK OUT SPECIFICS, (B) IMPORTANCE OF ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE FOR STRATEGIC STABILITY IN ANY LONG- TERM AGREEMENT, AND (C) MAXIMALIST ASPECT OF SOVIET GENEVA- I POSITION. DISCUSSION ON SCC SENT SEPTEL (USDEL SALT TWO- II 85). END SUMMARY

2. SOVIET REACTION TO US POSITION: SHCHUKIN (TO NITZE, A-132) SAID SOVIETS HAD FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO FIND WAYS TO BRING ABOUT CONVERGENCE BETWEEN US AND SOVIET POSITIONS. SEMENOV (TO JOHNSON, A-129), MAZERKIN/ STARODUBOV (TO FITZGERALD, A-131), AND SKOPTSOV (TO IFFT, A-133) ALL NOTED LITTLE CHANGE IN US POSITION FROM GENEVA- I. HOWEVER, SEMENOV DID SAY HE WANTED CHANCE TO BECOME BETTER ACQUAINTED WITH THE PROPOSITIONS JOHNSON HAD TOUCHED UPON.
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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

3. US COMMENT ON SOVIET POSITION: JOHNSON STRESSED THAT WASHINGTON HAD BEEN DEEPLY DISTURBED BY A WHOLE SERIES OF SOVIET PROPOSALS AT GENEVA- I. HE HAD NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH PROPOSALS WERE NOT PRESENT IN TODAY' S STATEMENT, BUT DID NOT KNOW WHETHER TO ASCRIBE ANY SIGNIFICANCE TO THAT FACT. NITZE SAID US HAD FOUND NO WAY TO RECONCILE SOVIET GENEVA- I POSITION WITH THOSE GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS US CONSIDERED IMPORTANT.

4. GENERAL APPROACH: GRINEVSKY (TO KLOSSON, A-128) ASSERTED IT MORE USEFUL TO DISCUSS CONCRETE SITUATIONS RATHER THAN GENERAL PRINCIPLES. INTELLECTUAL EXPLORATIONS WERE FOR PUGWASH; NEGOTIATING DELEGATIONS HAVE TO DEAL WITH PRACTICALITIES.

5. STRATEGIC SITUATION: SEMENOV NOTED THAT THE SOVIET STATEMENT REFERRED TO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AS HAVING RESULTED FROM DUE ACCOUNT BEING TAKEN OF ALL ASPECTS OF STRATEGIC SITUATION. SEMENOV DOUBTED SIMPLE ARITHMETICAL YARDSTICK COULD EVALUATE STRATEGIC SITUATION. ALL ELEMENTS AFFECTING STABILITY MUST BE CONSIDERED. HE ALSO WISHED TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE ABM TREATY WAS IMPORTANT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HALTING ARMS RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS.

6. JOHNSON REPLIED THAT THE ABM TREATY HAD PROVIDED FOR COMPLETE BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND THAT NUMBERS HAD PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS BALANCE. IN A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT, ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE WOULD BE COMPRISED OF SEVERAL FACTORS, SUCH AS LAUNCHER NUMBERS, TOTAL THROW-WEIGHT, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS. WE EMPLOYED THE TERM " ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE" RATHER THAN " EQUALITY" BECAUSE WE DOUBTED EACH SIDE WANTED TOTAL IDENTITY BETWEEN OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS. WHAT NEEDED TO BE CONSIDERED WAS THE TOTALITY OF SUCH SYSTEMS AS IT AFFECTED STRATEGIC STABILITY.

7. FBS. GRINEVSKY SAID THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVED ALL ASPECTS OF STRATEGIC SITUATION, INCLUDING FBS, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AT SAME TIME. SHCHUKIN SAID HE WAS PLEASED THE US INCLUDED BOMBERS IN ITS CONCEPT OF WHAT WAS TO BE LIMITED. THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE CERTAIN

ADDITIONAL SYSTEMS TO OFFER FOR CONSIDERATION, INCLUDING

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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US AIRCRAFT BASED UPON THE TERRITORIES OF ITS ALLIES.

8. FORWARD MOVEMENT. MAZERKIN AND STARODUBOV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF RAPID MOVEMENT IN GENEVA- II. MAZERKIN SAID SOVDEL' S INSTRUCTIONS PERMIT IT TO MAKE FORWARD MOVEMENTS IN SEVERAL AREAS IF ACCORD CAN BE REACHED ON BROAD OUTLINES OF POSSIBLE AGREEMENT. HE SAID DRAFT AGREEMENT, BASED ON THEIR INSTRUCTIONS AND " FORWARD MOVEMENT," COULD BE WRITTEN " OVER NIGHT."

9. SURVIVABILITY. GRINEVSKY CLAIMED SURVIVABILITY HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED IN PREVIOUS SALT SESSION. MAZERKIN SAID SURVIVABILITY WOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY ASSURED BY AN AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDED STABILITY. END JOHNSON

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